/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence: they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 197 304 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. Their average height was 1.65 meters. they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, 241 clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up. the entire company, among them Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/103 cont./

151 only Reginaldo, who joined us, laughed and said definitely that the person approaching was Claus coming on foot. And he was right.

191 They all understood at least a few scraps of Portuguese.
648 They are on good terms with the Coroá, who, they said, call themselves Kayacho. It seems that they impress them because of their rifles. Reginaldo did not like to talk about this point. One had the impression that, according to his inner feeling, he was, after all, on the side of the wild Indians and against the Whites. As a clever man, he took advantage of the benefits offered by the Brazilians and did not fall out with the barbarians.

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João and Joaquina.

648 The Bakairí manner /meek Bacairi/ how to authority. In their hearts they are the same people as the antigos.

126 /104/ We were busy for a number of days. Claus worked out the itinerary and took the ground temperature, Wilhelm drew, I took body measurements and made the glossary that appears in the appendix. Besides Reginaldo, I was aided in particular by good-natured Antonio, who put up with everything and would have given anything to go with us. But he did not even dare ask the strict captain for permission. Carijo, too, 122 was busy with notes. We shared the hut with him and the cadet.

[115]

/104 cont./

122 The cadet was familiar with only two forms of activity:
he slept or ate. It was indeed a pleasure, however, to sleep within
four walls once more, although at night the wind often whistled
through strongly. And there were all kinds of things to eat that were
262 not furnished on the march. There was plenty of sugar cane; the
cooked mandioca root with roasted bacon cubes was a dish for the
[229] gods; a piglet was slaughtered, a few chickens forfeited their lives;
the young chaps had also killed a tapir one day under a regular
volley of small shot; it furnished a very tasty ragout. The women
went fresh, crisp "beijús," a simple baked product made of mandioca

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Antonio

Quirino

262 flour, of the shape and approximately the taste of matzoth. Since
272 there was no shortage of rapaduras /a crude form of sugar; see the
glossary, p.172 /, "jacuba" was constantly being prepared as
refreshment. In a gourd bowl a plentiful amount of rapaduras, a
plentiful amount of farinha /manioc flour; see the glossary p.171 /,
231 and water as desired. Even milk appeared. In the evening the
526 calves were separated from their mothers; the herd was driven into
the "curral" /corral; see glossary, p.170 /, and the calves were
lassoed with a great hullabaloo, while a large and appreciative
526 audience /105/ sat all around on the fence. That was something

/105 cont./

526 for Pedro, to hang on by the tail of a cow rushing out at top speed and to maintain this seat as long as possible during the gigantic leaps -- that was something to laugh about.

533 As soon as darkness set in, the music-making began. The
[179] Bakairi had learned from the colonist of Mato Grosso to carve
534 guitars for themselves, and they played them with enthusiasm.
They improvised their "verses" in praise of dogs, bananas, the
534 moon, a house, etc. One evening they showed up with

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André

534 their original and peculiar tribal instruments. Characteristically enough, they had hidden them nearby in the forest.

They were large and small flutes, the meni and the kanuat n. The latter has nothing special; it is made out of
[824] bamboo, one might say bassoon-like. The meni, made out of vinhatico wood, is a little over a meter long; it is held with the feet. On the upper section there is a small hole into which the player blows. Not far below it there is a square opening in the tube, just as there is a series of smaller ones in the lower part.
533 The music is simple, but has to be learned. It consists of five tones,

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the storyteller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a 122 friend who lies dying. We sat crowded against one another in the [354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor; I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo fetched them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[609] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb [301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white 123 feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable [126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakaïrí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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Bakaïrí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy. In view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakaïrí figured five days more to the Paranatinga. another stop was necessary in the second aldeament. let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods were concerned, we had become less worried. Dilliel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakaïrí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary. p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

[501]

/119/

000 Clauss, Castro, and the majority stayed at the fazenda. The owner, for his part, rode to a compadre /Gavatter in the Ger.: in the original source, p. 191 (translated p. 72) "compadre" is translated as the Ger. Gevatter: the latter term is given in the glossary of Brazilian expressions, p. 171 / eight legoas away, who was supposed to sell farinha. Thus everyone was busy.

133 Wilhelm and I arrived at twilight after a four-hour march over a series of hilly ranges, having crossed a few small tributaries of the Paranatinga.

[122] [142] [291] [301] [302] → We could have sworn that we were in the Bergischen /a hilly countryside near the Rhine/ or Westphalia -- farm houses in front of the bush, the queimada like potato fields; -- in the

[241] ← gathering darkness we also began to indulge in fancies on a barren hill in the distance we clearly saw a lunatic asylum in the latest pavilion style.

Captain Caetano "Mêmo."

231 The dreadful dogs that hastened toward us, barking, were ill-suited to bringing us back to a clear and sober conception of reality. These curs, small, skeletal specimens, with pointed snouts, light whitish-yellow fur, and glassy, watery eyes, looked as though they scratched up the dead out of the graves in the cemetery at night.

122 485 Received by old Captain Caetano and a few young chaps, we were put up in the guest house. The term is synonymous with guest room or guest stall. The only furniture a trough-like, unfinished bark canoe on a stand in the corner, which we were permitted to use as a dresser and table.

/157.cont./

241 the process of being charred. The pillar of smoke that had drawn our attention for several days is explained: the forest was
122 being cleared in order to lay out a planting. Eagerly scouting, we climb up, and again we are wandering along the forest path.

[262] /158/ "Beiju," somebody cries in a suppressed voice and triumphantly points to a few crumbs, which give us the prospect of new provisions; "they have beijús," each one murmurs to the man behind him.

[411] There -- a feather-decorated arrow leans against a tree
824 -- the tube of uhé, the wood from which the Imperador /emperor/
[173] of the legend created the Bakaïrí. We become more serious, and even the Negroes, who, when they are afraid, like to try to give themselves courage by chattering march on silently. Now and then small fires, alive or burned out. We have already been
[139] walking three-quarters of an hour. But see there, a new clearing -- a charming grove of nut-bearing bacayuva palms -- a few kernels of maize on the ground, again a bit of forest and: "Casas -- houses," the first man cries.

36 Three houses of the form of a beehive become visible; in
342 the first hut, which blocks our path, the low door stands open; in the dark we make out a few heads. A completely naked
609 Indian steps out, young, well built, closes the door, and comes
[291] toward us, in his hand a long arrow shaft without a point, which he holds horizontally in front of him.

I instruct Antonio to call out a greeting to him in Bakaïrí. "K'ulino," cries Antonio almost breathless, and -- hail to the antiguos -- the Indian answers in Bakaïrí. Eagerly he steps up to Antonio, leans against him, and both embrace as they walk on -- both talking at the same time, both trembling all over with fear and excitement.

[302] A joyful feeling of release overcame us all, and when Manoel, discovering that our dear savage wears a nicely shaved tonsure, now finally recovers his speech and cries out, "Oh, why that's a priest, the compadre is a parson," general laughter breaks out, and everybody talks at once.

/158 cont./

342 353 We were led into the smallest of the three huts; there we sat down on a long trunk lying on the floor. Two supporting beams, adorned with a diadem of parrot feathers and wound at the bottom with a belt of dry grass stalks, held up the straw roof. Many elegantly worked arrows were sticking in the wall.

179 361 These Bakaïrí had never seen human beings of another color. They said that there were a few more settlements downstream.

133 This was the last cachoeira, the one we passed here -- great news -- and the river -- naturally, we were eager to learn this -- runs north, it is called Tamitatoala; after 12 days' journey there comes another, larger one from the left, the Ronuro.

000 Thus all favorable circumstances seemed to converge and the hardships of the trip were amply outweighed.

162 We could not endure it much longer in the hut; outside /159/ others appeared, including two women -- one, whose youth and beauty were long gone, busily tripping about with

291 tousled hair. A triangular, straw-yellow leaf fastened to a string, which was slung around the hips and drawn through the perineum,

301 constituted her scanty clothing. Our friend who was doing the honors wore around his waist three strings, on which were alternately strung bits of stalks and black seeds, in each ear lobe two coquettish yellow feathers, and above the ankles a tight band of

302 bast. His hair had a dark reddish sheen; it was cut in Russian style around a bowl; the tonsure was as correct as in other well-known cases where the discoverers of a tribe were misled by it into believing that the heralds of Christianity must have been active

[142] here earlier. The type of physiognomy was without doubt in conformity with the Bakaïrí.

609 [142] [302] Soon a second principal figure appeared on the scene: a medium-sized Indian with a fine hooked nose and heavily painted red, who was coming from hunting; he drew near uneasily in a roundabout way, talking partly to himself and partly, parrying, to us; we called him the professor because of his incredibly dignified manner of examining every object most minutely, like a person who knows a thing thoroughly, but cannot quite understand why this or that does not fit.

/160 cont./
437 carried each piece that she captured to a secret repository lying
439 back off the road, immediately most hurriedly hastening forth
[554] for new deeds.

609 At noon Wilhelm and I went to the aldea;[1] Antonio accompanied us, but, suspicious of his fellow tribesmen, he could not make up his mind to stay with them during the night and returned to the river in the evening.

122 We set up housekeeping in the festival hut, and, alone with the charming little people, we felt indescribably content. When toward evening the mosquitoes started to annoy us, we took a
[137] walk to the roça.[2] Greedily we looked about for the "frutas de lobo," apple-round fruits which were present in numbers on gray-green shrubs, but unfortunately not ripe; the Bakaïrí boys are no different from ours. A magnificent estate; the horizon was bordered by a dark park, behind which the sun was setting in
291 reddish orange. We met Pauhaga, as our apostle of peace is
177 called, and his relatives on the plaza between the three huts, trying on clothes in great embarrassment. They urgently needed our help; not only did they put the trousers on in reverse and upside down over the legs, but they also tried to draw them up over their arms and wanted to stick their legs into a shirt. Putting on a coat alone was an impossible thing. They were unaware of the most obvious offenses against the elements of propriety. A safety pin was hugely admired, but most of all a pair of scissors with which
412 one could so conveniently cut one's nails. Their tool, the stone ax -- a ground stone is wedged into a wooden handle -- with which they fell trees and make posts, deserves our appreciation no less, from the standpoint of how much can be accomplished with the simplest means, even though in the unspoken accompanying thought that we ourselves /161/ might have to go back to this
[411] stage there is a slight admixture of horror. They have no spears,
231 no bananas, no dogs, and tobacco is nowhere to be found. Bones,
276 teeth, shells must serve them as tools, along with the stone ax.
[237] /Illustration appears here./

[1] [i.e. village -- Analyst]
[2] [i.e. Cultivated field -- Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 40]

/164 cont./

287 The triangular garment of the women, a folded piece of
291 bark bast, supposedly from the schischá tree, has a base of four centimeters and a height of one to one and a half centimeters.

A girl about ten years old is still completely naked.

302 The nasal septum of the men is not pierced; the beard hair,
[304] /165/ if a natural tendency for it is present, as well as all the hair (among the women, too) with the exception of the head hair, the eyebrows, and eyelashes, is carefully removed.

224 Around 10:00 in the forenoon Clauss came with Antonio; a
[622] few men also arrived from hunting, among them the chief, an older gentleman with an anxiously serious official face and a
162 fat little belly. We count ten men, seven women, five boys, four girls.

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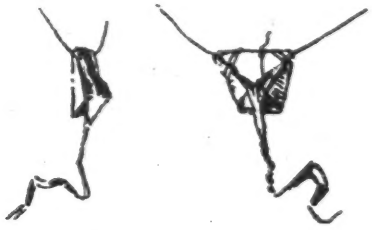

Clothing of the Bakaïrí women.

372 Pauhaga showed us how they make fire. They take two long, thin sticks of the same dry wood; into one a notch is scraped; while one man now holds this in position on the ground with two small sticks, a second man twirls the other stick rapidly between both hands in the notch. The dust that is rubbed loose glimmers.

126 We did some bartering; I measured a few men. They patiently allowed it to be done.

157 These "wild" Bakaïrí are alert, teachable, and certainly very good-natured. They do not steal, although we are carrying
[273] treasures with us. They have no intoxicating drink; they refuse
[276] tobacco. On the second day, together with their wives, they visit
609 us in our camp -- the "docile ones" on the Rio-novo, on the other hand, preferred to sleep with those in the bush as long as we were in the aldea. On the first evening a savage drinks a medicine that I

1: Steinen--47 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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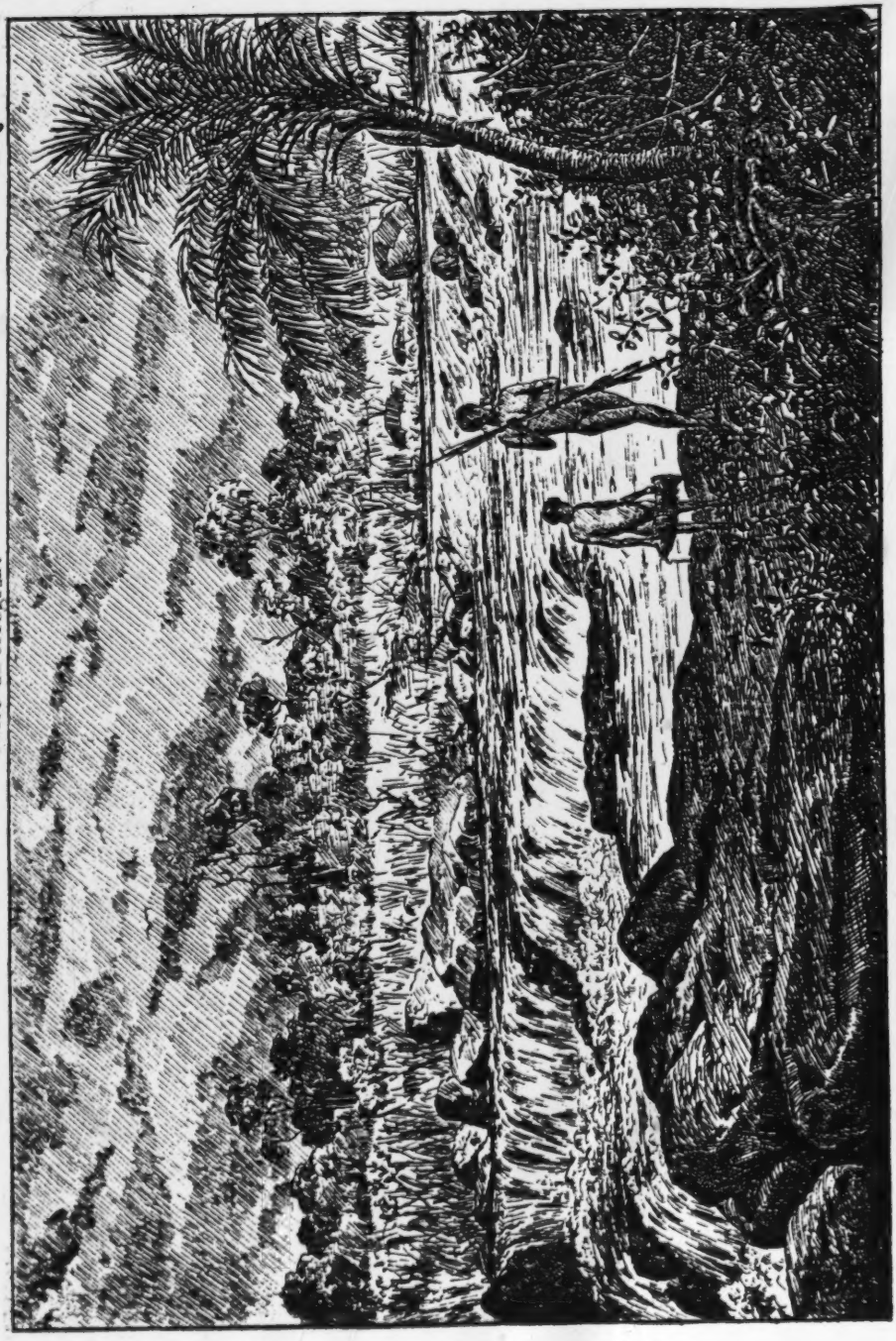

Salto da Alegria.

/170 cont./

291 Besides these products of the most primitive carving art, /171/ the most interesting article was: a buritĩ shirt -- "the" shirt of the upper Schingú -- which proved the invention of [286] clothing even among the Bakaïrĩ. The fibers were knotted in meshes, following the method for the hammock; the doublet was wide at the neck in order to be stepped into; it had short sleeves and trousers, from the bottom edge of which long fibers hung down. Many simple, meter-long buritĩ-fiber 372 237 hangings seemed apron-like. Two triangular fire-fans had small downy feathers pasted on them. Hard, open shells, 535

345 352 353

In the Bakaïrĩ festival-hut.

535 the size of half-walnuts, were gathered into a rattling bundle 534 that is tied around the ankles for dancing. Another rattle instrument was a dried gourd shell, which contained seeds, impaled on a stick (1).

[171]

1. Hans Stadl (1556) tells of the "Tuppin Inbas": "They believe in a thing that grows like a gourd, is as large as a half-measure scoop. It is hollow inside; they stick a little stick through it, cut a little hole in it, like a mouth, and put little stones in it,

/171 cont./

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171

1. (cont.)
so that it rattles. They rattle with it when they sing and dance, and call it tammaraka." The soothsayer lets the rattle speak "and just a word so that one cannot really perceive whether the rattle is doing it or whether he is doing it. And the other people think that the rattle is doing it... but when I saw the fraud, I went out of the hut; I thought, what a poor, deluded people that is."

361 The aldea was otherwise similar to the first in everything. All around puva racks, cotton, spear grass, fruta de lobo, and
162 nearby a brook running over white sand. We counted 18 men, 17 women, 7 children; it is possible, however, that one or another has been counted twice; again the small number of children is very striking. Toward evening we returned to the river; I had done some good bartering.

122 18 Aug, φ 12° 59'.9, λ 7'.7, km. 22.10, total 164.42.
[132] 7:30 A.M.: dry. 14.0, water 22.7.
5:35 P.M.: I 742.8, II 733.4, dry. 25.0.

From the wool /Wolle," wool, down, hair, cotton"/ obtained in the village fish lines were twisted. During the night
[136] five pirararas /see the glossary, p. 172/ and nine piranhas were caught. The former has the bad habit, when it is hauled on land, of emitting a farewell sound, which is audible far and wide, with the part that leaves the water last. It tastes fatty; the broth is somewhat strong; it is also supposed to produce ulcers. -- The
[482] professor went home again; besides arrow, bow, and the treasured mirror, he carried his hammock on his back in a net held by a forehead band: this is the way the Bakaïrí goes traveling. -- A young, handsome chap accompanies us to the next village. He
[291] wears a red-black flannel shirt and around his head a green cloth with the Brazilian coat of arms. At the campsite he removes this clothing.

1: Steinen--56 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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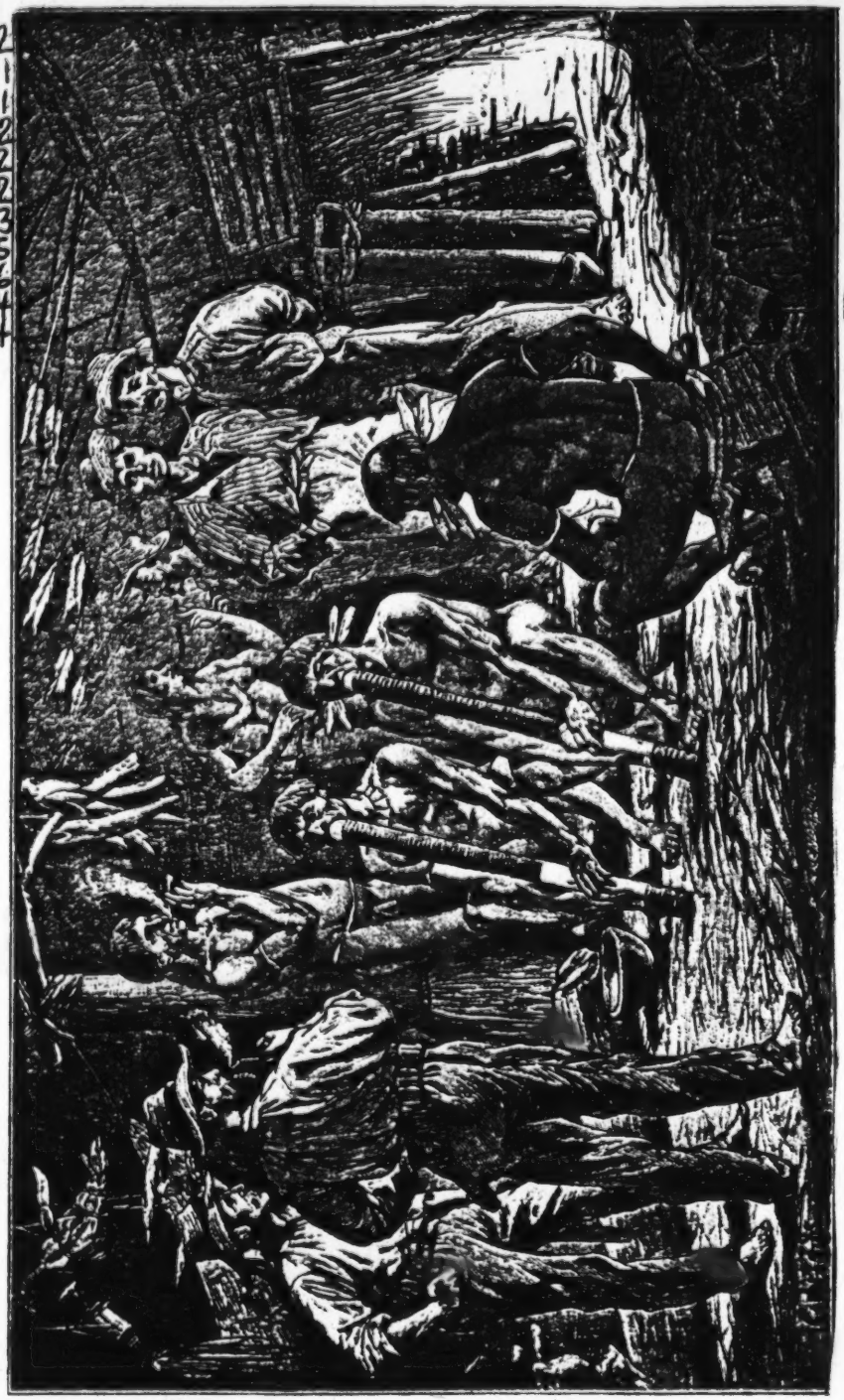

Flute duet among the Bakaïrí.

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

[501] [29] [411] The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and 551 622 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

[262] Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many
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[301]

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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kulisehu could scarcely
[142] have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Analyst]

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyáuhu kuyáuhuhú -- kirúhayé kiruhayé (four times) --
539 kuyáuhu kuyáu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawí yawí nakú -- novî ritó hahé -- ohó hohú, nikê wekê nikê, nikê wekê nikê, notú arîte nóhuhé, ohóhuhó huhú, nikê wekê nikê, notú arîte óhohu, ohóhuhó, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the óhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nó tú há -- notú arîte nóhuhé nuhá hahú -- notú arîte nóhuhé nuhá hahú nó tú há, nó tú há -- óho hú hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I [123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

• 291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
289] be seen from Plate 5,* wore the "ulúri," a yellowish brown piece
301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

* [See P. 28 -- Analyst]

/64 cont./

291 301 304 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe; one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth: youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange 291 123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity: they thoughtfully examined my Polynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 535 They themselves, of course, also wore something resembling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is <u>ẽti</u> = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "<u>karíiba pekõto</u>," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so unjustified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the region of the missions, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakairi; I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakairi found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakairi had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut; I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[Text Continues on p. 297]

D. Salmon--28 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Decatur

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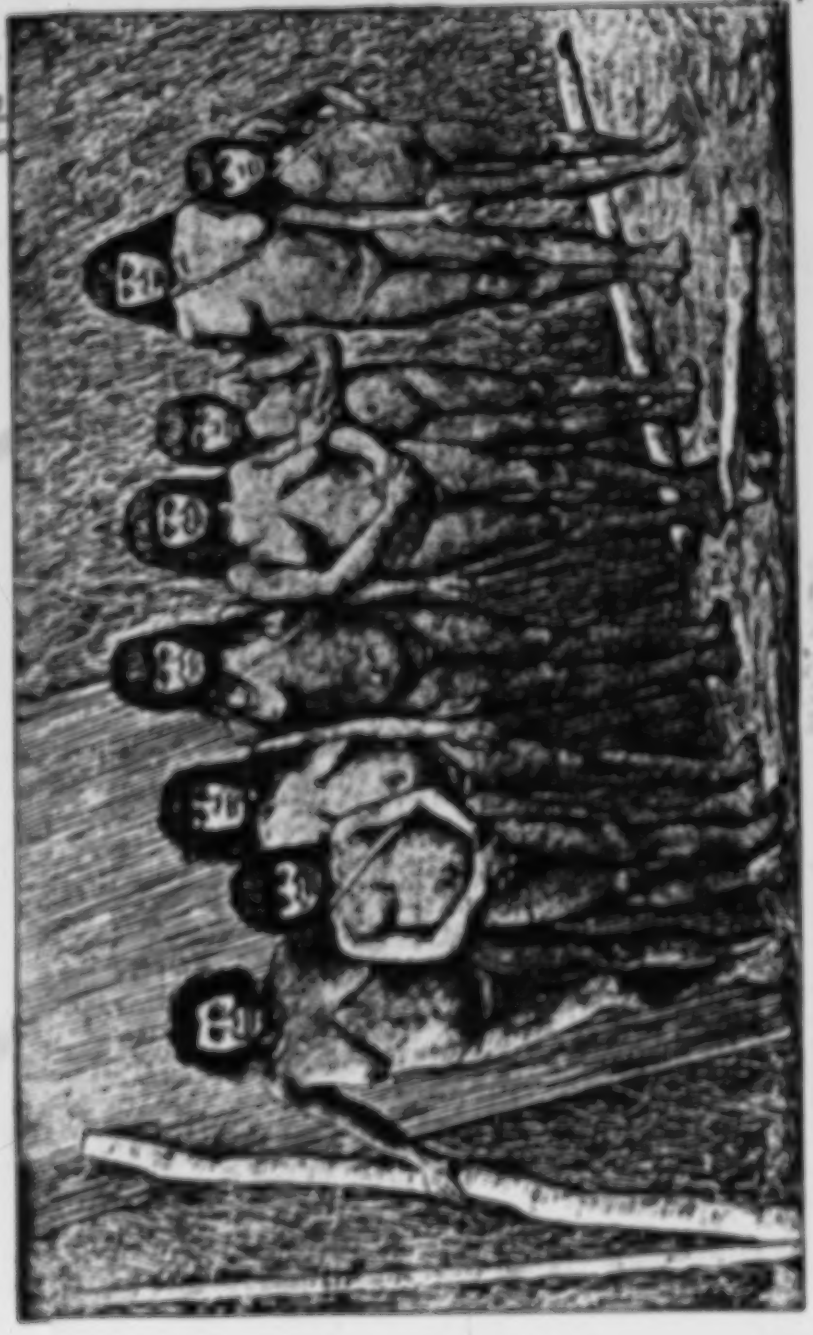

/65 cont./

124 531 [192] say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the unveiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same [531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's [152] [524] [283] [287] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up piserego and played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the 126 291 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/66 cont./

126 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for
291 their uluris and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"anstandslos"/ and laughingly.

264 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty
576 on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered; he wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark; I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house; he turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire; they brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakuai, for instance, was making himself very comfortable; lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

142
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Plate VI

Tumayaua

Lachu

Bakalif

2: Bielenz--40E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1889) 1894 SFI Recent 727

2: Steinen--124 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/130 cont./

her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetõ and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing. both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day. he would tear them in the forest, but then again

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green; we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beijús. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a house with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

/172 cont./

B with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells
142 from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that
412 is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/ Chapter IX.

000

I. Dress: Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

B Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back
128 as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

B First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a
*171 feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became
291 acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

000 Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

/190 cont./

*171 304 characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian [619] conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

*171 ●291 The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

*171 291 83 Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is [881] most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively [602] concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a [201] stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

128 Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/191 cont./

128 only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the partes pudendae from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

171 ● 291 [302] Among the Kulisehu tribes, with the exception of the Trumaí, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of stalks or bored seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 163/: one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuquá, page 71 or in the picture of the Bakaïrí Luchu, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuquá on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 40/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand, but in fact light tools, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

B /191 cont./
+171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
●291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

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291
[283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO
[291]
Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on
B the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable
T that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at
[186] any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*171 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
302 the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
30 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
29 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
287 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
29 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/193 cont./

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● 29
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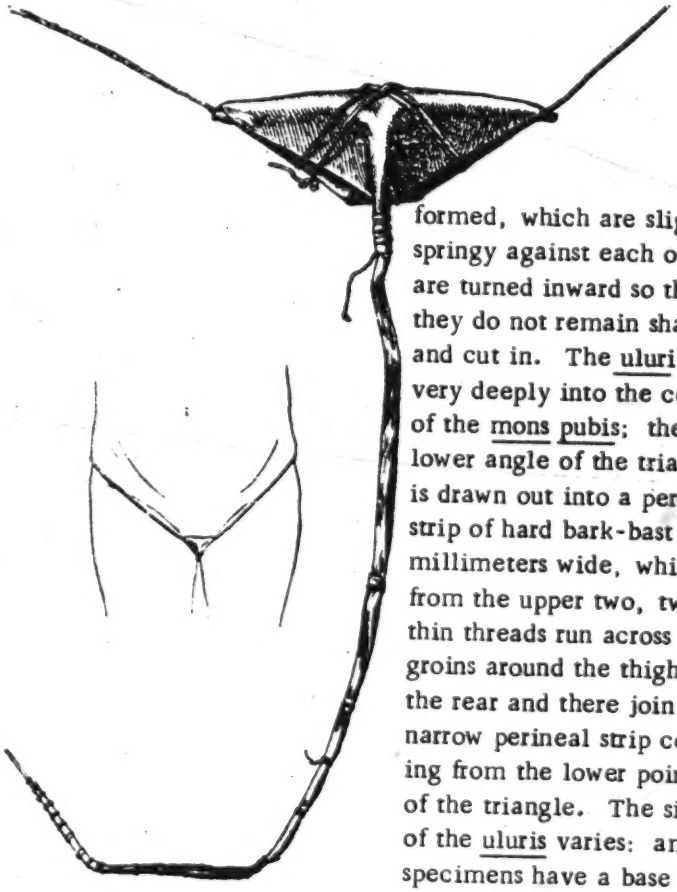
The women of the Karaiben /Carib/, the Nu-Aruak, and Tupí tribes of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region all wore the little triangular piece of rigid bark bast, which /194/ is most conveniently designated with its Bakaïrí name, "uluri." The uluris are made out of a square piece of rather hard, crumpled material folded diagonally; the edges of the two triangles thus



formed, which are slightly springy against each other, are turned inward so that they do not remain sharp and cut in. The uluri fits very deeply into the corner of the mons pubis; the lower angle of the triangle is drawn out into a perineal strip of hard bark-bast four millimeters wide, while, from the upper two, two thin threads run across the groins around the thighs to the rear and there join the narrow perineal strip coming from the lower point of the triangle. The size of the uluris varies: ample specimens have a base line

Fig. 18. Uluri (5/6-5/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

of seven centimeters, a height of three centimeters; most of them, especially for younger persons, are considerably smaller. They

/194 cont./

*171 ●291 just cover the beginning of the fissure of the vulva and fit closely against it. The introitus vaginae is not reached by the triangle, but is closed from front to rear or at least held back toward the inside by the total pressure, since the perineal strip embedded in the fissure between the unrestrained labia majora is drawn taut.

The uluris are made with great nicety and look quite coquettish when they are new. Their entire construction is so nicely thought out and especially the fastening of the groin cords, as well as that of the perineal strip, which are sewed to the triangles, are such neat work that one cannot explain them as a native product.

*171 291 831 What the various methods of the women have in common is the closing, not the concealment. They hold back the mucous membrane parts, just as among the men the glans is prevented from protruding. Holding back the mucous /195/ membrane is the common mechanical effect of all the devices of both sexes. The uluri achieves it by such an extreme reduction of the covering that concealment seems avoided as much as possible, rather than desired. The mucous membrane, since it is held back behind the praeputium in the case of the men, behind the labia majora in the case of the women, remains hidden from the outer world in general and thus also from the glances of the circle of acquaintances.

These devices can only facetiously be regarded as "articles of clothing" whose chief purpose would be to serve the sense of modesty. Sexual excitement was not concealed by them and was not kept secret, at least among the Bororó men. The little red thread of the Trumaí, the decorative uluris, the colored flag of the Bororó, like ornaments, invite attention instead of diverting it. To be sure, the notion of tracing the moral condition as well as these "remnants of earlier clothing" back to degeneration, during which the natives are supposed to have sunk from a higher level to the lower one of the present, will be a heartfelt need for some minds, but it cannot be reconciled either with the variety of devices dominated by one similar, clearly expressed purpose, or with the complete harmony with which they fit into the entire cultural level of the Indians otherwise. The absolutely

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/195 cont./ naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

/196 cont./

*17 29 136 951 On the other hand, the swarm of "carapatos" (Ixodidae), the ticks stripped off and shaken down from leaves in great numbers as one goes through the forest, makes protection of the glans extremely desirable for the forest dwellers. These little parasites, in part very tiny, attach themselves to the skin, pump themselves full of blood, swell up to the size of peas as a result of their expansible body walls, and cling so tightly with the hooked tips of their maxillary feelers which sharply penetrate the skin that one tears them apart in trying to pluck them off, and painful inflammed areas are caused by the parts that remain behind. The Brazilian, who often comes out of the forest as though strewed with carapatos, hastily removes his clothing and shakes his shirt and trousers out over the campfire; if one of the parasites has bored into the glans, he goes after it with a burning cigarette as close to the body as his own sensitivity will permit, so that the little animal, tortured by the heat, will voluntarily give up its abode and withdraw from the mucous membrane without being torn apart. All of us, in spite of our clothing, have had to resort to this procedure at one time or another and have experienced the situation, before relief was achieved, as one of the most painful. I am also of the opinion that the protection which the Indians enjoy is more reliable than that of covering clothing.

How many other biting, pinching, sucking, increeping insects can in like manner afflict the South American forest dweller is familiar to every traveler who has sat on the ground in the Brazilian forest. These annoyances are most vividly made clear by the fact that it was the inhabitant of the South American tropical forest who was forced to invent the hammock, which the English and French still call "amáka" from the Nu-Aruak word. Forced certainly not only because of the wet ground of the Hylaea. The Indian very wisely averts such attacks somewhat by customarily sitting in a squatting position. The women, if they sit down flat during the scraping of mandioca roots and similar occupations which would be inconvenient to do in a squatting position, use a couple of flat pieces of bamboo, fastened together as an underlayer, even when they are in the house, which, of course, is crawling with ants. Their domestic tasks

*171 136 352 516 951

B /196 cont./ their domestic tasks
*191 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192 / a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
*191 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
● 291 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
136 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized
751 that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,
B cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
*191 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
291 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
83 have been removed more often, especially at night in the ham-
1051 mock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
*191 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
291 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
841 medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
T most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
191 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
291 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a
841 cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

B /198 cont./
*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
● 291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of
blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or
similar loose hangings,

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to
the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately,
I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I
saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/198 cont./

171 or occasionally took them off, just as a number of Trumaí did
29 not even wear the string, but the penis had always been pushed
834 back so far and the skin was so wrinkled that nothing was visible of the glans. I even believe, perhaps because, without corroborating material, I myself am gazing through the spectacles of civilization, that they would be ashamed to expose the glans to the eyes of another, especially a stranger. Except that I would regard this feeling of modesty as the result of the firmly rooted custom and not as its cause. I find it very strange, however, that a feeling given by temperament should be awakened for only a small anatomical part of an organ which in its function also claims other parts, and I should like to hear of a case having been observed, say, in which a person taken by surprise in a naked state covers himself, not with his hand, but with only two fingers. It should not be forgotten that erections are neither prevented nor concealed by the tying-off. Moreover, there are also
[304] circumcised persons who go naked or did.*

[113] *Cf. the example of the cacique of Gotera: R. Andree, Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche, new series, Leipzig, 1889, p. 202.

000 And here we have arrived at the point that must be considered above all. We must take into consideration the opposite treatment of the glans, which shortens or cuts open the praeputium. The majority of mankind has given preference to circumcision. Along with Ploss and Andree, ** I am of the opinion that the

** Op. cit., p. 212.

original meaning of circumcision was that of an "operative preparatory act for the sexual function of the man"; "one wants to make the young man at once mature and normal sexually, /199/ with it he is taken into the ranks of marriageable men." Now, if our primitives have decided on the opposite method, they could not have been impelled by an opposite motive, which would be irrational. One may well ask, however, whether their

/265 cont./

probably to his great satisfaction, would rediscover -- I do not know whether in all parts of Germany -- countless examples of his pakú fish, the rhombus with the center dot, incised, scratched, and painted on our trees, walls, doors, exactly as he makes it. Woe to him who has once formed the habit of seeing this Indian pakú design wherever it appears among us. If he wanted to get away from it, he could no longer set foot in a railroad station, an avenue of trees, a scenic spot, in short, any place where people pass by, for it seems as though an unknown, mysterious society had conspired to pursue him with it: he finds it in the bark of ancient forest giants, he finds it in freshly fallen snow.

Fig. 48. Bakaïrí back-sticks with the designs: merenchu, uluri, bat, and snake. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/. Cf. the following page /see p. 295/.

The Kuliseu Indians made no secret of their delight in the uluri; a shapeless bast band would not have offered them the model. If they have the geometric conception of a triangle, they owe it entirely to the uluri. It would not have spontaneously occurred to them to draw triangles. Among the pencil drawings on Plate 17 /see p. 266/ there is an uluri which a Bakaïrí, unasked, drew in my book for me. In the frieze, Plate 21 /see p. 281/, a large single specimen is shown in No. 13, in 14 we see the uluris joined into a flat zigzag band.

/24 cont./

231 a table made of *vertigan* and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

198 Among the various crafts of the Kuikuiru Bakairí, pottery-
323 making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the
285 ancestral form. Food preparation was also still the same as
283 described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only
252 essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for
177 which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no
322 longer depended on stone axes, drill with stone points, shells,
412 and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from
301 the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European
291 clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri *aldea* to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga *aldea* and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the *uluri* (small triangle of bark) was the sole
291 national garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kuikuiru Indians,
361 the first Bakairí *aldea*, called Maigeri, consisted of only two
342 large houses of kindfolk and one small house for guests with an
345 oval base, while the second and third *aldeas* each consisted of three large houses of kindfolk and of one house for guests. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí *aldeas* at the time of my stay
161 among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to correct Hermann Meyer's observation that this tribe was
114 already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there
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30. Hermann Meyer. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí *aldeas* on the Rio Kuikuiru, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/ST cont./

the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on the Rio Paranatinga.

According to Antonio Pyrineus de Souza's description, the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly decreased through José Correa's defection with his people and through the independent stand of Cacique Kuruñí, was still chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and abobora /gourds/, and raised many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher large houses had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region round by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., p. 64.

José Correa's aldea consisted of three well-built houses. He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kuruñí's

35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

/28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing, the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/28 cont./

in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Souza a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft. In his book Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen (36)

36. Hintermann, Heinrich.
Unter Indianern und Riesenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/.
Zurich and Leipzig, 1928.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcelos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegr. Est. de Matto Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Roxuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the Kulisehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kulisehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Conrado had already set up his aldea before.

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt. "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungreise in Matto Grosso.

4:Schmidt--60 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate II

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Fig. 1. Captain Antonio, Cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairi, in the year 1927.

4:Schmidt--61 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1967 SPT Sacaan SPT

Plate III

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Fig. 2. Captain Antonio with his family in front of his house, in the year 1927.

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Fig. 3. Administration building at the Simões Lopes Post.

Archivum--62 F-o (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Bacaan SPT

Plate IV

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Fig. 4. House of the [illegible] Puro, cacique of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 5. Cacique Puro with his family in front of his house in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--63 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bakairi SP7

Plate V

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Fig. 6. Bakairi house, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 7. House of the family of the old Bakairi, Luiz, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--64 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VI

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Fig. 8. The old Bakairí, Luju, from Maigeri aldea, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 9. The Bakairí, Joaquim Carpintero, in Simões Lopes

Plate VII

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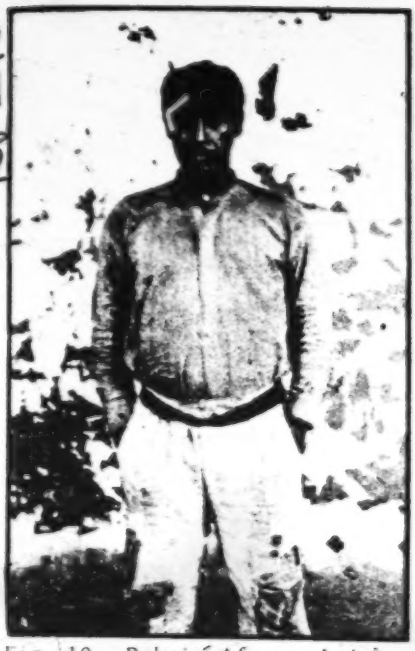

Fig. 10. Bakairí Afonso, Luju's son, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 11. Bakairí Hieronymo, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 12. Cacique Roberto, from the Rio Novo, with his family, in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--66 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Bakairí, son of the Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

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Fig. 14. The author with Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Paranatinga.

Plate IX

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Fig. 15. Xinguano Patagudê with his son Ka'iura, in Cuiabá.

Fig. 16. Xinguano Ka'iura.

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Fig. 17. Xinguanos in front of their house, situated near the Rio Paranatinga.

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Fig. 18. Xinguano Kapinage, in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 19. Paranatinga Xinguano boys.

Fig. 20. Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

4:Schmidt--69 E-5 (1901 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XI

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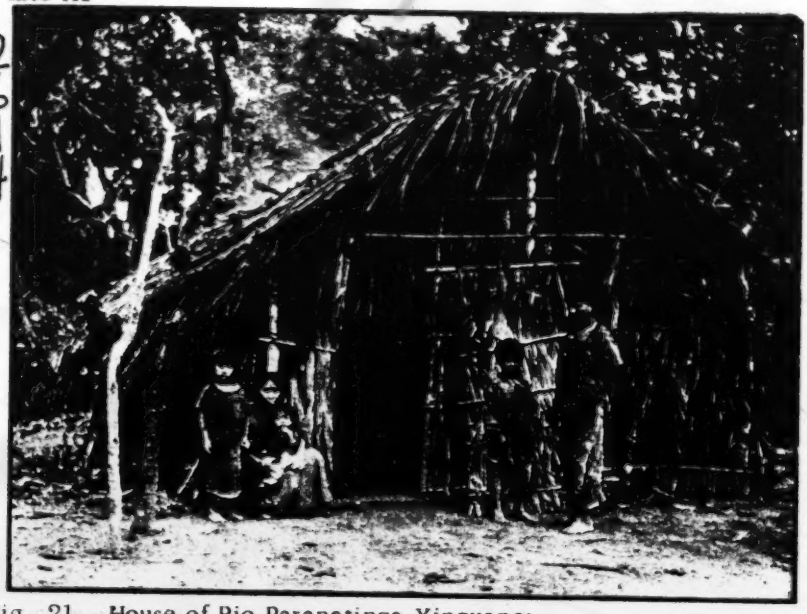

Fig. 21. House of Rio Paranatinga Xinguanos.

Fig 22. Bakairí João Pedroso with his family in front of his house situated near the Rio Paranatinga

/263 cont./

000 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, enokua, was
843 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
262 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the houses; the parturient was segregated and remained uanki. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[845] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
844 house. After the birth, eraseli, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
846 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of
uanki. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
846 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called tadaunúto. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called itabiénli.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, uanki, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's uanki period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the uanki
784 state was also celebrated with the tadaunúto. The girls then
881 began to wear uluri, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
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wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ululrí. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadaunúto*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairí songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the uluri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

[533] [535] [431] [301] [291] [582]

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÚINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

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BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun

768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning

765 period (*logúno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wánki*.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kadópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simõe Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropmetric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings most belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP7.
Mato Grosso SP1

B 464 [551] Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paghuli, or Marcellino, and Apacanu, both of whom had lived on the Kuluseu before the withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Anahukua to some [191] [396] extent, and are the only men who know how to make bark canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B 501 The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skillful in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the bowman than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the man in the bow when going up the stream, in which case the efforts of the man in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114 As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giacomo Anzil, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kuluseu river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went afoot. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the wastes of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian camaradas.

B [177] [29] As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked